1: Oran's E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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464 organizing principle of membership in social groups and in [178] social interaction.

It is chiefly the southern Santal from the territories adjacent to Jamshedpur who have contributed to its working force, and these are the Santal with whom I have done field work. They [167] come largely from the Dhalbhum subdivision of the Singhbhum district in Bihar, the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa, and from the former princely states of Seraikela and Kharswan, now also in Singhbhum; a few have come from the Manbhum district of Bihar, north of Jamshedpur, and from the Midnapur district of Bengal on the east.

Since Santal industrial workers live both outside and within Jamshedpur, exceptional opportunities were available to [121] pare separately the effects of industrial employment and living in an urban environment. Most of the Santal workers live outside the city of Jamshedpur in village-like settlements (*bustees*) of their own construction. Some of these *bustees* were formerly traditional agricultural villages, while others have grown up only since the development of Jamshedpur and the influx of industrial workers. These settlements from which the workers commute daily to Jamshedpur lie from three to ten miles from the city. The smaller number of Santal workers who live within Jamshedpur either occupy Company houses scattered throughout the town or live in one of the *bustees* within the town. [114] Though I spent considerable time with the city Santal occupying Company houses, I unfortunately did not have the time to make more than casual observations of the city *bustee* dwellers. [167] Almost all Santal industrial workers, whether living in Jamshedpur or in a *bustee*, come from native villages within a fifty-mile radius of Jamshedpur.

114 167 The *bustee* in which I did intensive field work, and which I

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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Introduction

114 shall call Daredih, was a traditional agricultural village long
• 167 before Jamshedpur was built; it lies about three miles from the city and while it is the native village of some of its inhabitants, most are migrants from the surrounding countryside. Since even those for whom it is a native village (and who have adjoining agricultural land) generally work in Jamshedpur, it is possible to compare them with the migrant industrial workers so that the effects of migration may be examined. Exclusively rural villages lying far away from Jamshedpur constituted something of a base-line from which to view the urban-industrial effects of Jamshedpur on Santal culture. The rural village in which I spent the most time and which I shall call Fanderkuta, lies in Mayurbhanj about fifty miles from Jamshedpur. Other villages in Mayurbhanj and Seraikela were visited, and one in Mayurbhanj was repeatedly used for control purposes.

128 Since the subject matter at hand is cultural change, a broadly chronological order of presentation has been followed. The base line for change, though constructed from both historical accounts and contemporary observations of rural villages, is treated first. This is followed by an account of those changes associated with the market economy and migration to industrial employment. The most recent Santal historical experience, including the introduction of political democracy and the emergence of an indigenous great tradition, terminates the presentation of the facts of change. On the basis of this historical evidence and with an eye on general theoretical considerations, the final portion of this work is concerned with the rank concession syndrome and its various applications.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

115 He stated that he was a disciple of a guru named Buku. Together with other Santals he
had emigrated eastwards. His old home being in Manbhum explains that some very few
• [167] of his statements are different from what is the present custom in the Santal Parganas.
[178] Kolean was a guru, a designation borrowed from the Hindus but adapted to suit Santal
society. A Santal guru is a man who is supposed to know certain things, e. g., what should
115 be recited at some ceremonial functions, and who is able to act as a reciter when called
177 upon to do so. Any Santal can become a guru, by attaching himself to an older guru and
gradually learning from him. In this way we cannot expect absolute uniformity throughout.
792 The use of such recitations may partly be due to imitation of Hindu customs, and there
are definite statements in the traditional tales here translated to the effect that the ancestors
177 on a certain occasion, after long deliberations, decided to abandon some customs of their
own and to adopt Hindu usages instead. In this connexion it is of interest to note that
178 the Santals often use songs in a foreign language, notably Bihari, during their festivals
538 and at cremations. And it is a curious fact that many Santals do not understand these
songs. It is evident that we have, to some extent, to do with borrowings, but it would
be an exaggeration to maintain that the whole has been borrowed.

538 The traditional history of the world as contained in the first part of Kolean's narrative
764 is recited twice in connexion with the life of every Santal, first at the caco chaṭiạr,
when a child is ceremoniously given full social right, and finally at the bhaṇḍan, the
881 funeral ceremony, when the deceased is handed over to the next world and to the care
of the departed ancestors.

P. O. Bodding.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

others) originally belonged to the Kherwars, especially to the Kisku and Baske septs. It is also told that those who left the Kherwars and became Dekos spread in all directions. 539 829

We are here touching on one of India's problems, and a few words may be permitted. First as regards the wanderings of the Santals, as they may be observed at present and probably are a repetition of what has happened in earlier times. The Santals are among the very best of clearers of jungle in India, themselves originally a forest people. But they have not reached the stage of being really good agriculturists; it must also be remembered that they have very little understanding of the use of money; they may be said to know the value of a pice, but do not know the value of the rupee. What often follows is this: they get into the hands of the moneylenders who will do all they can to get hold of the fields cleared by the Santals, who frequently will not know or think of any other way of getting out of their difficulties than by emigrating to some other place, always towards the rising of the sun. Combined with this we have their backwardness as agriculturists: they have little idea of getting all that is possible out of the lands they have cleared or are occupying. They are a prolific race; the time comes when they have not enough land to support themselves. The result is, that either the whole family, or some of them, will go away, either to find fresh jungle to clear and occupy, or to work for others as labourers. It is in their blood to seek fresh fields; as they often are heard to say, they have a wish "to see land". Now if the whole family does not move away, some will stay; those who stay will gradually get under the influence of the more civilized neighbours and may ultimately become attached to these. 167 241 [436] [426]

After this digression a little more about the traditions. As regards Mandǫ Sin (by some also called Madhwa or Madhǫ) some have a very detailed story, something like a folk-tale. A servant girl is stated to have been with child by some of the young men of "the kings", who threatened to kill her if she revealed anything. She bore her child in the forest and left him there, but came every day to suckle him. This went on for two months; then one day the mother did not come quickly; the child became hungry and commenced to cry. Some Kisku girls heard this, found the child and brought it home with them. They were convinced that the child was that of the girl; nothing was said about this, but they asked the girl to take charge of the child, saying that they had adopted it. The child grew up, became very intelligent and clever in all kinds of work. The king gave him office, and he gradually became indispensable. After some time the king asked him whether they had given him a wife; and as this was not the case the king ordered him to bring all the principal men to him; he wanted to ask them the reason for this. In spite of orders and persuasion they would not come and would not be brought, although the king sent elephants, horses, etc., to carry them. The king became angry and ordered Madhwa to go and apply sindur to all the daughters of these men, to the girls he might care to make his wives. He consequently went to these men and asked them whether they would 539

2: Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

XIII. ADDITIONAL ACCOUNT BY OLD JUGIA

Because of the harnessing of the Dekos and the distress through lack of food after we had crossed the Ajay river, we were, as time passed, spread about towards the North and the East, on the hills in the North-East right up to the Ganges river. At that time there was only forest, and here and there Bhûyas[1] and on the hill tops Mar Muṇḍas[2]. The Muṇḍas they also call Haurias. The Bhûyas and the Mar Muṇḍas were the landowners at that time. They allowed us to take up land in peace, and they took a very small amount of rent from us. Under them we had no distress at all. But as time passed, the Dekos entered trading, and finally they settled down as money-lenders. They also became the money-lenders of the landlords. The landlords borrowed money and clothes from them and gave the country to them as security. In this way the Deko money-lenders got the country from them by fraud, they themselves became the landlords, and the real landlords became paupers and became like us. The Deko landlords living at the foot of the hill country also took possession of what belonged to the Mar.

We cleared the hill country and the forest country at our expense for the new landlords, after they had become money-lenders, and they gradually increased the land-rent for us. The money-lenders give us very small amounts, and they take very much. The crops of the year they take away from us, all of it, and we get through life by again incurring debts with them. However much we pay back, still it is not cleared off. If they are not satisfied with the crops of the year, they drive our cattle away; and if they are not content even by this, they make us, wife and children, serve with them as slaves for a couple of half-seers (of rice). At that time there were no magistrates; to whom could we complain? Afterwards Deko police came in; but these dismiss our cases, taking the white pice of their own race. We had very great distress. With the whole country we became bewildered.

Then different rumours arose. First this: The two Lag Lagin[3] snakes are coming; they will swallow people. To remove the adverse influence men of five villages gathered and walked about to five other villages, during one night, being religiously very abstinent. To our village those of five villages came, one man to every separate house. In the village

[1] A semi-hinduised caste, living here and there near the Santals. [2] A Dravidian tribe living on the hills in the northern parts of the Santal Parganas. [3] Lag Lagin, a Bengalised form of Nag Nagin, a pair of fabulous snakes.

[776]

167

/For Santal traditional history related to their early migrations, see category 173./

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173 a grassy field called Bàṛi baḍwak' [Dr. Campbell says that it means a common grass. (*Panicum Colonum*, [262] L.n.). The seeds are eaten during scarcity of food]. Then they crossed a forest and found themselves on the plains of Jona Jòspur. From this place they came over to Khàspal Belaoñja.

Here, they scattered themselves in many directions as they chose. Some went to Sir, some to Sikhàr, while others to Nagpur. Thenceforward, [177] [648] the Santals were, to a greater extent, under Deko (non-Santal) influence. They could preserve their independence only by contracting matrimonial alliances with the Hindus. They are no longer called 101 173 Kharwars. Here an explanation as to why they are called Santals, is forthcoming; for there are some who say that as they lived for some time in the country of Sànt,[1] beyond Sikhàr, they are called Sanotaṛ[2] (*Santal*).

1. Sant = The Santals of Mayurbhanj according to the Census report of 1931, were called Kherwals or Kherwars [175] (Santals Puritan) before they settled in the country round about a place called Saont in Midnapur. P. 151. Risley (*People of India*, App. VIII) says that Santals ruled here for 200 years.

2. From Saont, Risley adds, "Again pressed by the [177] Hindus, they wandered on under a Raja called Hambir [648] Singh to the eastern part of the Manbhum district near Pachet. Here after a while their Rajas adopted the Hindu [167] religion and set up as Rajputs, so that at the present day they intermarry with the family of the Raja of Surguja.

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Here the Santals became the tenants of the king of Sikhàr but we hear that the Dekos seized their lands and property and drove them away. It is at Sikhàr that the Santals learnt how to observe the *Chatapòròb*[1] (one of Santal festivals). From Sikhàr some of the Santals came to Ṭuṇḍi near Dhanbad.

The Santals regard stability as the biggest of their tribal problems. Their forefathers exhorted upon them not to cross the river Ajoy, but they had to go against their wishes for the sake of bread. And in course of time they have found themselves in the Santal Parganas. With a characteristic naivetè, the Santals say that like the caterpillars

But the people would not change their religion, so they left their chief to rule over the Hindus, and wandered on to the Santal Parganas where they are settled now."

People of India, App. VIII, pages clviii-clix. Risley has some reflections on the origin of the name "Santal." He says that according to Mr. Skrefsrud it is a corruption from "Saontar" and was adopted by them after their sojourn for several generations in the country about Saont in Midnapur. Before they went to Saont they were said to have been called Kharwar, the root of which, *khar* is a variant of *hòṛ*, 'man', the name which all Santals use among themselves. Col. Dalton expressed a doubt whether the name of the place may not have been taken from the tribe, "a doubt strengthened by the discovery of a small tribe of Saonts in Surguja and Keonjhar." Risley does not think the point of importance as the Santal always now calls himself "mañjhi."

1. Chata-pòròb = Observed in Mayurbhanj on the 12th day (Dwadasi) before the Bhadra Purnima (full-moon in the month of Bhadra, Aug-Sept).

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167 they are advancing, grazing and eating. But still they have not yet been extinguished from the face of the earth. They do not know where they will go next. Some have crossed the Ganges. It is not known why Ṭhàkur (*the Creator*) is punishing them in this way.

128 114 We consider that it will be instructive at this stage to refer to the traditions as collected and commented upon by the previous antiquarians so that our story of Santal genesis and migration may be examined in the light of these.

114 167 Mr. E. G. Man, one of the earliest writers on the Santals,[1] quoting the opinion of Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Monghyr, (1817) refers to the "Sonthars who emigrate (in the Santal Parganas) from the Beerbhoom and Ramghar district, and even from the Nagpur territory." An old [173] Santal told him that they came from "Chai Jumpa" in the Nagpur district, and their migrations were due to the oppressions of a "Mahadeo Singh". [101] They first called themselves "Shaitals" which was gradually corrupted into "Sonthars." Now they are known as Santals. Some of them say that they were originally "Kerwars."

[113] 1. Ref. *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, E. G. Man, page 11.

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Similarly, Khàiri gar of Santal tradition may perhaps be identified with Kheri-garh or the fort on the hill at Kheri, ten miles to the south-west of Bhagalpur.[1]

Secondly, the Mundà traditions corroborate the story of a struggle with the Kharwars, in tune with the Santal myth on the point. The reason for the attack was the refusal by the Mundàs (or by the Santals according to Santal tradition) to bestow the hand of one of their girls on the son of Madho Singh Kharwar. The tradition of the Kharwars also affords corroboration to this tradition of the Mundàs and Santals.[2] According to Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, this fight took place while the Mundàs and Santals were at Rothasgarh "without doubt the Ruidasgarh of Mundà tradition." Next, he suggests, one branch of the Mundà tribes such as the Korwas, the Asurs, the Birijas, and the Kisanrs, appear to have followed the course of the Koel river till they reached the present districts of Palamau and Ranchi, while the Mundàs and the Santals crossed the Sone and marched on in a south-easterly direction along the border-land that separates the present Hazaribagh district from Palamau and Ranchi (Nagpur of Santal and Mundà tradition).

1. Ref. *The Mundàs and their country*, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, p. 100.
2. Ref. Do Do p. 110

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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173 Now the Santals and Muṇḍàs parted company.
•167 The Santals left Nagpur (Chotanagpur), crossed the
648 Damodar and settled down in Sikharbhum (the modern district of Hazaribagh) and later on, followed the course of the Damodar and passed on to Manbhum[1] and to the Santal Parganas, while the Muṇḍàs preferred to remain in the forest-covered regions of what is now the Ranchi district.[2]

175 *Historical Basis of Santal Migration in the*
167 *Santal Parganas*[3]

The history of Santal migrations does not however remain conjectural in the 18th Century, as we have authentic records to go upon. These will show that whatever their original habitat might have been, they were settled in the Chotanagpur plateau and in the adjoining districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum, and that they began to move to the north towards the close of the 18th Century.

[101] In 1795, we find them described as "Soontars" living in Ramgur (Ramgarh), a "rude and unlettered

1. The Santals of Mayurbhanj when questioned by us as to whether they were autocthonus in the place replied that they came from Sili Sikhar, some from Manbhum, while others from Dhalbhum. They asserted that Mayurbhanj was not their original seat.

2. Ref. *The Muṇḍàs and their country*, S. C. Roy, page 111.

[113] 3. With acknowledgements to the *Dt. Gazetteer*, Santal Parganas, Vol.XXII. pp. 95-99.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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tribe" by Lord Teignmouth (Sir John Shore) "who have reduced the detection and trial of persons suspected of witch-craft to a system." By the first decade of the 19th Century, the Santals had settled in considerable numbers in Lakerdewani *i.e.*, Handwe and Belpatta of the Santal Parganas, two tracts outside the hills. They had made their way from Birbhum, where they appear to have been brought to clear the country. This is clear from a reference to Montogomery Martin's *Eastern India* (compiled from Buchanan Hamilton's manuscripts) which contains references to the "Saungtar" with their three peculiarities *viz.*, their contempt for Hindu prejudices, their belief in witch-craft, and their communal system. The manuscripts of Buchanan Hamilton refer to 500 such Santal families, who gave their original home as Palamau and Ramgarh. But they came then from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance of zemindars. They are said to be "very expert in clearing forests and bringing them into cultivation."

By 1819, the Santals had made their way (according to Sutherland's account) in the Godda subdivision and by 1827 to its extreme north. These Santal pioneers were now closely followed by others of their tribes between 1836-51, so that by 1851 (according to Captain Sherwill's accounts) there were no less than 83,265 Santals in the Damin-i-koh alone.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

In Other Places

175
167 As regards the historical basis of Santal migration in the rest of their present settlements, the references in official records point rather to their migratory habit than to any exact date of any settlement. Thus the District Gazetteer of Manbhum (1910), speaks of its Santal population, "A large part of the present population (Santal) springs from families that have been established in the district for four generations or more, and it is perhaps open to doubt whether their establishment in this district was not earlier in date than in the Santal Parganas." The Gazetteer of Birbhum, 1910, repeats the story already mentioned that the Santals migrated to Birbhum towards the close of the 18th Century "being brought to clear the jungles and drive out the wild beasts." As far as Midnapore is concerned, the Gazetteer (1910), [173] refers to the date of Santal settlements in the district as "unknown" but adds "their traditions relate that they came to Saont in course of their wanderings *several centuries ago* (*Italics are ours*)." There is a similar reference to the migratory habits of the Santal in the Gazetteer of the Feudatory States (1910), which mentions that the Santals came to Keonjhar from Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj and Chotanagpur, and on our own enquiries at Mayurbhanj, the Santals said that some came to the State from

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Sili Sikhar,[1] some from Manbhum, while others from Dhalbhum. They asserted that Mayurbhanj was not their original seat.

Conclusion

We would conclude this chapter with a discussion of the origin of the name "Santal." In this connection, it is worthwhile to remember that the Pre-Dravidian Muṇḍà tribes uniformly designated themselves as Hòṛ, Hòṛò or Ho. The words mean "man." It implies that the tribes were proud enough to consider themselves as men, and indirectly thought of the rest of mankind as sub-human. Even to-day one can hear a Santal saying, "Mit' hòṛ dòñ ñèlledea baṅ dòe Hòṛ kan 'baṅ dòe Diku can" (I saw one man, but I cant't say whether he was a Santal or a non-Santal). The traditional origin of the Santals however consistently refers to them as Kharwars. A legend about the origin of the name was referred to us by Raghunath Mañjhi, teacher of Rairangpur, Mayurbhanj, which goes to show that the forefathers of the tribe got the name from a hero of that name. There are many at Mayurbhanj, who derive

1. 'Sili' is one of the Eastern parganas of the present Ranchi district. 'Sikhar' is probably an abbreviation of 'Sikharbhum', the ancient name of Manbhum dt. It is in the territory of the Raja of Panchacote.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1936) 1902
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centages they constitute of the total population of the area.

Locality	Actual number of Santals				Percentage of total population			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
Bihar & Orissa	1,712,133	1,477,471	1,407,846	1,298,347	4·0	3·9	3·7	3·6
Santal Parganas	754,804	676,459	668,149	670,535	36·8	37·7	35·6	37·1
Purnea	46,995	34,995	21,022	6,848	2·1	1·7	1·1	0·4
* Bhagalpur	30,799	33,503	25,249	26,632	1·4	1·6	1·2	1·3
Monghyr	26,742	23,080	20,479	19,758	1·2	1·1	1·0	1·0
Hazaribagh	129,103	98,738	93,269	78,379	8·5	7·7	7·2	6·7
Manbhum	282,315	238,747	282,296	195,400	15·6	15·4	15·0	15·0
Singhbum	108,890	94,381	88,241	77,868	11·7	12·4	12·7	12·6
Feudatory States	309,503	261,791	247,264	211,937	6·7	6·6	6·3	6·4
Elsewhere	22,981	15,777	11,377	11,500	·09	·07	·05	0·5
Bengal	796,656	712,040	670,689	570,727	1·6	1·5	1·4	1·3
Dinajpur	130,328	120,211	110,244	74,101	7·4	7·0	6·5	4·7
* Malda	72,145	72,140	66,523	52,126	6·8	7·3	6·6	5·9
* Bogra	5,351	7 182	5,826	4,533	·5	·7	·6	·5
Rajshahi	25,591	21,300	14,145	4,858	1·8	1·4	1·0	·3
Jalpaiguri	27,859	23,988	22,641	10,895	2·8	2·6	2·5	1·4
Birbhum	64,079	57,180	56,087	47,738	6·8	6·7	6·0	5·3
Burdwan	101,522	79,099	55,978	46,538	6·0	5·5	4·3	3·0
Bankura	114,577	104,912	115,017	105,722	10·3	10·3	10·1	9·5
Hughly	38,013	34,963	22,992	9,966	3·4	3·2	2·1	·9
Midnapur	169,750	152,751	161,532	148,391	6·1	5·7	5·7	5·3
Murshidabad	22,725	18,401	14,393	12,556	1·7	1·5	1·0	·9
Elsewhere	24,716	19,913	15,314	23,308	·07	0·6	0·5	·08

It will be clear from the foregoing that the Santals in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, have increased from 1,869,074 to 2,508,789 during these thirty years, recording a striking growth of over 33 per cent in a single generation. And when we remember that the rate of growth is double that achieved by the rest of the population, we can only be struck with "the hardy and prolific character of the tribe."

[167] • The corresponding decrease in Santal Population from 1921 to 1931 in the districts of Bhagalpur, Malda and Bogra is presumably due to migration to other districts.

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181 A little reflection, however, will reveal that the inner source of the Santal's joy in life is not the epicurean outlook we generally associate with Omar Khayyam as distilled into English poetry by the pessimistic school of thought represented by Fitz-Gerald in his famous stanza:—

> Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
> A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
> Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
> And Wilderness is Paradise enow.

[812] Nor do we find in the Santal folk-song, evidence of a philosophy similar to that enunciated, in the famous lines associated with Charvaka:, *Yavat jibet sukham jibet, Rinam kritva ghritam pibet* (So long as you live, live well: drink clarified butter even by borrowing).

181 •167 The source of the Santal's joy lies embedded in the lines in the middle of the song celebrating the Santal's wander-lust, his joy in "treks from land to land," in the lure of the virgin soil, new flowers and leaves.

Any one who has studied the story of the genesis and migration of the Santals in their legends will be struck by their migratory instinct. History shows that the infiltration of civilisation in early times generally pushed the tribe into the backwoods where they could live well their primitive care-free life.

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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With a characteristic naiveté, the Santal Guru Kolean told Rev. Skrefsrud that, since the very beginning of things, the Santals were ever migrating "like caterpillars, advancing, grazing and eating". Although the tribe has accepted the life of settled agriculturists, the inner urge to perpetual movement towards the newer beauties that the earth can offer is wonderfully revealed, in the song quoted above, as an ever-present instinct in the heart and soul of the tribe.

Virgin Nature may thus claim herself to be "both law and impulse" to the Santals, and this throws some light on the frank, straightforward and essentially truthful nature of the tribe. And even the corroding influence of what is called 'civilisation' has not to any great extent robbed the people of their primary virtues. It is a tribute to humanity that the heart of the Santal is still sound.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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time or other. What I would especially draw attention to in this connection is the Mongoloid type and types resembling what is found in Assam, Burma and further on".

In summing up he writes "If we are to accept the tradition of the people, these either affirm or presuppose that since the time when the human race was split up into nations they have always been wandering in a more or less easterly direction—a direction which now-a-days also is followed by them in all their migrations. This would imply that they came into India from the north-west. I must confess that I personally was long of this opinion, and I have not given it up altogether, but I am more and more getting my eyes opened to the fact that the Santal and Munda peoples have their connections towards the East".

Santal Movements in Historical Periods:—From the above it appears that we are now not certain about their original home. From the ancient records available it appears that there is no doubt that the Santal began to settle in Chota Nagpur and its neighbouring areas during historic times. The earliest mention of them is recorded in an article of Sir John Shore entitled "Some Extraordinary Facts, Customs and Practices of the Hindus"[1]. In this article Sir John designates them as "Soontars", who were residing in Ramgarh. The first mention of the Santals in the district of Santal Parganas occurs in Montogomery Martin's Eastern India[2]. There are two references. In the first

1. Asiatic researches 1795.
2. Buchanan Hamilton's manuscripts.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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SANTAL PARGANAS

175 114 •167 it is written in the following words "it is only in Lakerdewani that some impure Taungtars have been permitted to work the cow, and the most violent opposition was at first made to such an atrocious innovation; but the obstinacy of the barbarians prevailed, chiefly, I believe, because they were thought powerful in witchcraft, and because disputes with such people were considered as dangerous". The second is "The tenants of Bihar in general transact their own business with the agents of the zamindars, and it is only among the rude tribe called Saungtar, and in the Bengalese parts of the district that a kind of chief tenant is employed to transact the whole affairs of the community.[1]" According to Hunter, "The Permanent Settlement for the land tax in 1790 resulted in a general extension of village, and the Santals were hired to rid the lowlands of the wild beasts which, since the great famine of 1769, had everywhere encroached upon the margin of cultivation. This circumstance was so noticeable as to find its way into the London papers, and from 1792 a new era in the history of the Santal dates."[1] Thus according to Hamilton the Santals came to Handwe and Belpalta between 1790 to 1810 from Birbhoom being oppressed by the Zamindars. Between 1815 to 1830 Sutherland and Ward noticed the Santals in the Dumka and Godda Damins. Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in Damin areas "inhabited by the Santals and Bhuiyas but chiefly by the former". The Santals entered this region and spread far afield without much opposition from the Paharias, (the Malers, the Mal-Paharias), and most of these Paharias slowly

1. Annals of Rural Bengal.

retired to the Rajmahal Hills. In 1851 Captain Sherwill found 83,265 Santals in Daminikoh alone. 175 167 114 [162]

Santal Rebellion (Hul) of 1855. Mr. Buchanan Hamilton has mentioned in his unpublished manuscipt that "the Santals has settled in the Dumka sub-division by 1809 having come last from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance which they have received from its Zamindars". In 1818 Mr. Sutherland found them engaged in clearing the jungles under the hills in Godda sub-division. Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, mentioned that by 1836 about 427 villages had been established by the Santals in the Damin area.

These Santals of the Daminikoh in the year 1855 became rebellious. The chief cause of this rebellion was the oppression of the Mahajans, the Darogas and the corruption of the Amlas. These Mahajans gave the Santals money as a loan with high interest and one[1] he had contracted a debt he had little chance of escape, because if his creditor sued him, the Santals could not produce any authentic record, whereas the creditor had his ledgers and day book. These Mahajans sometimes without going to court to realise his capital and interest, sent his agents to take away their cattle forcibly. The Santals bore this oppression thinking that it was useless for them to obtain redress against the wealthy Mahajans, besides that had not enough money to pay the Amlas and Pleaders in the Court. If they approached the Court and loged a complaint against these Mahajaus,[2] they only got an order on the police to enquire and report, but the police generally sided with the Mahajans and submitted reports in their favour. [1 Erratum: i.e., "once". 2 Erratum: i.e., Mahajans. -- Analyst] 175 648 669 426 [692] [625]

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Sorup and Haru Mañjhi were two brothers. Sorup Mañjhi left Bogri because of the elephants, came to Raipur and settled. He had established himself well at the end of a year or two, so he told his younger brother: 'Leave Bogri, where the elephants are on the increase. Some day you will be trampled on and killed. Come with me.' Haru Mañjhi thought to himself: 'True enough, many men have been killed; perchance they will kill me.' Thinking thus, he took all his children, left Bogri and came to Raipur. From Rautora in Raipur they established a village in Barikul, Sorup Mañjhi saying to his brother: 'Go to, brother, put up your huts and stay at Barikul.' Then Haru Mañjhi went out with his children, his cattle and his goats, and built his huts there. He had four boys and two girls; the girls they brought with them from Bogri, and the four boys were born in Barikul. He obtained sons-in-law for his daughters to live with them, and one or two tenants came together. In this way the village increased to many houses." Wild elephants, of which there are not so many now as formerly, do still on occasion cause great damage to ripening crops. Barikul was founded five generations ago, a period of about one hundred years. At that time there was also a possibility that by moving his abode the Santal could regain a measure of independence. The Santals have been spoken of as formerly "nomadic".[1] It may be that in the strict sense of the word they were in some remote period nomads. For any period of which we have record, however, they have been agriculturalists, though food-gathering and hunting provide them with important subsidiary occupations. Their migrations have been due to pressure of one kind and another. They prefer to move to forest lands where they will have a hard struggle to establish new settlements than to remain where they have to defend their holdings and their livelihood against hostile forces, whether these be wild animals, malignant actions directed against individuals or the community from the unseen world, or the oppression of landlords and moneylenders.

The last cause operated to produce a great northward movement in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and finally goaded them into rebellion. The Santal rebellion has been frequently described.[2] It took place in an area remote from the Bankura district, but it has to be mentioned because it created

[1] P. O. Bodding, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Santal Parganas*, ed. L. S. S. O'Malley, Calcutta, 1910.

[2] J. H. Hutton, *Modern India and the West*, ed. L. S. S. O'Malley, Oxford, 1941. Chapter on the Primitive Tribes, pp. 417-44. Also bibliography.